

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 14

HARPER'S WEEKLY
14 JUNE 1976

Is USIA Sponsoring A Hidden Curriculum?

by Tom Lewis & John Friedman

The covert relationships between federal intelligence agencies and the academic community are long-standing, immensely complex, and shrouded in secrecy. Recent congressional intelligence investigations have verified that the intelligence community subsidizes the publication of educational books and academic periodicals. Reporters Lewis and Friedman here examine in detail one area of the intelligence-academic community connection.

On March 29, 1976, a small group of political scientists jammed into Professor Arnold Rogow's office at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. They were there not to talk about European parliaments, but about the sale of a magazine.

It was an emergency meeting. Rogow recently had learned of negotiations between the CUNY administration and an obscure Washington, D.C., foundation for the sale of *Comparative Politics*, one of the three most important journals in the field of political science. For some months, unknown to Rogow, the negotiations had been in the

STAT of Benjamin Rivlin, a political scientist who was Graduate Center Dean for University and Special Programs. The potential buyer was the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation.

Rogow began *Comparative Politics* in 1958. He heads the magazine's five-member editorial board. He sat somberly behind his desk, silent through most of the meeting. Rogow's magazine was in serious financial trouble. It cost \$60,000 a year to publish and income covered just half the cost. For three years, the National Science Foundation had helped make up the deficit, but in early 1975, Rogow was told the grant would not be renewed unless the format of the journal was changed, a condition

search for financial support. Harold Proshansky, president of the Graduate Center, held out the possibility of university money, saying CUNY did not want to lose the magazine, but he was forced to renege when New York City's budget crisis hit in the summer of 1975.

In October 1975, the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation wrote to CUNY inquiring if *Comparative Politics* was for sale. The letter wound up on the desk of Benjamin Rivlin. In February 1976, Rivlin went to Washington to pick up the draft memoranda of agreement between the foundation and CUNY. On March 15, Harold Proshansky sent a memo describing the deal, along with copies of the draft agreements, to the five members of the editorial board. It was the first any of them, including Rogow, had heard of the negotiations.

In a meeting in Proshansky's office on March 18, the deal was presented to the editors as a *fait accompli*. The foundation's offer was \$4,000, plus \$500 per year for editorial costs. The foundation would assume all printing and business responsibilities, and assume about \$12,000 in liabilities for prepaid subscriptions. In practice, control would be in the hands of a newly formed department-wide publications committee, which ensured that the current editors would be replaced within three years. The editors left Proshansky's office in confusion. Rogow then called the emergency meeting held 11 days later to discuss the situation. Privately, several editors expressed their fear that editorial control of the journal would pass to the foundation, even though the memoranda stipulated that control would remain with CUNY. Some questions were raised about the background of the foundation, and its ability to maintain a high editorial standard, and so far the magazine has not been sold. For most of the editors, the foundation remained an unknown quantity.

Helen Dwight Reid was a political scientist who worked mainly for the U.S. Office of Education and the State Department. The foundation's original assets were a legacy left to Reid by her father, a wealthy engineer. The

foundation was established in 1956. Prior to 1965, its main activity was giving modest grants to students for graduate work in foreign affairs.

Reid was killed in Washington in an auto accident in 1965, and the presidency of the foundation passed to Claude Hawley, a political scientist and a graduate dean at CUNY. Hawley died in 1971 and was succeeded at the foundation by Evron Kirkpatrick, executive director of the American Political Science Association. Kirkpatrick has been a foundation trustee since 1960 and treasurer since 1963.

Evron Kirkpatrick is also president of Operations and Policy Research, Inc. (OPR), a tax-exempt research company founded in Washington in 1955 by Kirkpatrick and Max Kampelman, a Washington lawyer and long-time confidant of Senator Hubert Humphrey. Kampelman is now a director of OPR and Helen Dwight Reid. Although the foundation and OPR are legally separate entities and were not always so close, there is now less distinction between them. For the past decade or so, they have shared offices and have been controlled and managed by the same small group of people.

In its first year OPR received at least one contract from the U.S. Information Agency, the government's official propaganda arm, for editorial evaluation of books and manuscripts. OPR has since had research contracts with the State Department but the USIA book evaluation contract has remained OPR's basic source of income. A USIA spokesman said payments

have been made to OPR in every year but one since 1955, and that since 1966, a total of \$621,371 was paid to OPR. For the current fiscal year about \$80,000 is budgeted.

Between 1960 and 1970, OPR, through one of its subsidiaries, the Institute for the Comparative Study of Political Systems (ICOPS), published a number of books and pamphlets on Latin-American political parties, *coups d'etat*, and elections. The books were written by political scientists, some in teaching positions at American universities, some in government positions.

In 1967, *Ramparts* created a furor when it disclosed that a number of foundations, among them the Sidney and Esther Rabb Charitable Foundation, had conveyed thousands of dollars from the CIA to the National Student Association for more than a decade. In the February 27 issue of *The Nation*, Robert Sherrill pointed out that the Rabb Foundation gave four times as much money to OPR as to the student group. Evron Kirkpatrick acknowledged to Sherrill that in "1963, 1964, and 1965, OPR, Inc., received CIA money, 'principally' (according to Kirkpatrick) for studies of Latin-American elections." In a recent interview, Kirkpatrick said he had made no such statement.

One political scientist closely connected to OPR during that period said he was told by OPR

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